Vol. XVII

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

VS

VINCENT RAYMOND DUNNE, et al

TESTIMONY TAKEN

November 24th, 1941.

Pages 2221 to 2364

FILED Dec. 13 1941

THOMAS H. HOWARD, Clerk,

By Emma Ed. Ray Deputy

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Minneapolis, Minnesota
November 24th, 1941.
10:00 o'clock a. m.

Pursuant to adjournment, all parties being present as aforesaid, further proceedings were had at the above time and place, as follows:

THE COURT: You may proceed, gentlemen.

MR. GOLDMAN: I want to ask Mr. Dunne a few more questions.

THE COURT: Very well.

VENCENT RAYMOND DUNNE

One of the defendants, previously sworn, recalled, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION
(Continued)

By Mr. Goldman:

Q Can you remember hearing Mr. Bartlett testify that when he went to Mexico you gave him a name to mention, Vincent O'Brien? A: Yes, I remember the testimony.

Q What was that name? A: The name was Vincent O'Brien, but the name was the name of one of Leon Trotsky's secretaries, and I told him to ask for Vincent O'Brien when he came to Leon Trotsky's house.

Q Did you know Vincent O'Brien? A: No, I did not know him personally.

Q How did you know that he was one of Mr. Trotsky's secretaries?

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A: Well, the correspondence very often, from the Party, and from many of the Party people that wrote to Leon Trotsky, they often referred to Mr. O'Brien as one of his secretaries, generally referred to him.

Q Now, will you tell the Court and jury about the destruction of the Party cards, and the giving of numbers, the alleged giving of numbers to Party members? A: Yes, that was done here in Minneapolis, and it was a measure that was taken at the time of the first hysteria surrounding the war; the experience of the Party, not our Party particularly, but radical organizations generally has been pretty much like this, that we are subjected to intimidation and all sorts of obstructions from people who come on our identification cards, and so on. The rank and file of our people are very often victimized in their employment, because of their membership in the Party and so on. In order to help to keep order in the Party, and protect the rank and file of the Party, it was considered here as one of the measures, to utilize numbers instead of Party membership cards. That was generally the reason for it. It was done here, but it was not generally practiced, as I understand.

Q Will you tell the Court and jury something about the ten percent contributions to the Party, that matter which has been testified to by the Government's witnesses? A: Well, it was a measure taken to finance the Party; that is, the payment of

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dues, which were 50 cents for the adult members, and ten cents for the International Solidarity Stamp, made about sixty cents, and that was always insufficient to finance the Party. The Party has financed itself by frequent solicitation of funds from friends and members. Several years ago here, in order to try to regularize it more, and to have a more stable Party financing, we tried the method of making an allocation of how much funds, should be given to the party, in addition to dues, or together with the dues, from each Party member and from as many of the friends and sympathizers as we could. It was discussed at some length, and the Party membership as a whole, as I recall it, finally decided upon that as a fair and reasonable request to make of the Party membership and any close friends who would want to contribute to the Party regularly, and we had a number of those.

Q And was it in the nature of a voluntary contribution? A: That is correct. Sometimes it was paid, and sometimes it was not - very often not.

Q Did any Party workers contribute also? A: The Party workers contributed also - not to the extent that the members did, but it was not at all infrequent.

Q With reference to the meeting held on May 27th at the Nicollet Hotel, can you give us the purpose of that meeting?

A: The purpose of the meeting was to get finances that were badly needed for the protection of Leon Trotsky in Mexico, and

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on the basis of the danger that he was confronted with and the attacks to which he had been subjected, to re-interest as many members of the Party as we could, who were not in good standing, and some people who had dropped away.

Q What had happened just prior to that meeting, if anything, which made you call that meeting? A: An attack upon Trotsky at his home by a band of people who were there with guns and bombs and attempted to assassinate him, destroyed part of his house, shot his bedroom full of bullets, attempted to kill he and his wife; a band of men who later were identified as being directed by the Communist Party, or Stalin's Secret Police, the G. P. U.

Q And the purpose of the meeting was what? A: It was to help rehabilitate his house, and to give him better protection there. That was the purpose of it.

Q To the best of your recollection, was there any Party meeting ever held at the Nicollet Hotel, outside of this one? A: I am quite sure that no other meeting of the Party was ever held at the Nicollet Hotel. I do not have any recollection that any other meeting was ever proposed to be held there.

Q What was the custom of the staff of Local 544 with reference to holding meetings at the Nicollet Hotel? A: The Nicollet Hotel was the chief meeting place of the staff, and of various boards and committees, for conferences. The Nicollet Hotel was used almost always when we could do so conveniently. The

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committee rooms were nearly always available, and we held meetings there very frequently, particularly of the Executive Boafd staff, and special meetings to discuss particular questions that could not be handled in the hall, for one reason or another.

MR. GOLDMAN: That is all.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

By Mr. Anderson:

Q Mr. Dunne, how long have you known James P. Cannon? A: I would say since about 1921 or 1922, somewhere in there.

Q Did you know him in the I. W.W. movement? A: No, I did not. I knew of him, but I did not know him personally.

Q And since the early 1920's you have been very closely affiliated and connected with Mr. Cannon, haven't you? A: Yes, I would say that is a fair statement of fact.

Q And you know generally what his occupation and business has been since that time? A: Yes, I think I would state generally I do.

Q And is it a fact that at one time he was the editor of a publication known as The Militant? A: Yes, he was a member of the - one of the first and original members that were in the movement that published The Militant.

Q And that was the newspaper of the opposition group, known as the Workers Communist Party of America, was it not?

A: That is correct.

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Q Of which you were a member? A: Yes.

Q And also you have testified, I believe, that you were one of the so-called expelled Communists? A: I was expelled, yes, from the Communist Party, for supporting Trotsky's views.

Q Now, calling your attention to the March 1, 1929 issue of The Militant, you are the Vincent R. Dunne referred to in the second column on the last page of that paper, are you not? (Paper handed to witness) A: I presume so - yes - that is correct.

Q And at that time you say Mr. Cannon was the editor of this newspaper? A: He was one of the editorial board. I do not know precisely whether he was the editor or not.

(Government's Exhibit 238 marked for identification by the Reporter.)

Q This newspaper has been marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 238. I am reading from the article which refers to you, and I will ask you whether you were once a member of the Western Federation of Miners in 1905? A: Yes.

Q And if you joined the I. W. W. at foundation - is that correct? A: Mr. Anderson, I think we should agree that those exact dates in that article that you are reading there may not be precise.

Q All right, we will take that for granted - and that you were in I. W. W. actions in Missoula, Spokane, Seattle, Fresno, and San Francisco? A: Yes, that is correct.

Q And you participated in I. W. W. strikes and free speech fights

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Q Secretary of 12th Ward Farmer-Labor Club, Minneapolis, 1924-1928? A: I think that is very nearly correct.

Q Removed from office for fighting Farmer-Labor Party bureaucrats and labor fakirs, Shipstead, Cramer, Weir, Starkey, Lundeen, etc. - is that correct? A: Well, I think that is not precise, but it is a statement that is about right, that I was expelled from the Farmer-Labor Party.

Q Expelled from union November 11, 1928 for opposing Shipstead as Senatorial candidate, just three days before expulsion from party - is that correct? A: I think that is substantially correct.

Q Joined the Workers Party, held minor offices, Secretary, Minneapolis C. C. C. for three years? A: I think that is very nearly correct.

Q What is the Minneapolis C. C. C.? A: That has reference, I believe, to the City Central Committee.

Q Of the Workers Party? A: Yes.

Q Member District Executive Committee, 1923-1928; of District Polcom, 1926-1928 - is that correct? A: Well, I think that is not precise either, although I was a member of the District Committee.

Q Member, District Secretariat, 1927-1928 - is that correct? A: I am not clear on that now.

Q Delegate National Convention, 1927 of the Workers Party? A: I am unable to recall if that is correct or not.

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Q Delegate to every convention of Farmer-Labor Federation and Association - is that correct? A: I think substantially so.

Q Member of National Party Election Campaign Committee in 1928 - is that correct? A: I am not sure whether that is correct or not.

Q Communist candidate for Congressman in 1928? A: I think that is not precise. I think it was for the United States Senatorial post, if I remember correctly.

Q In the primaries, or in the fall election? A: In the primaries, I believe.

Q Expelled from the party November 14, 1928? A: Yes, that is substantially correct. I think there is one correction there, that I ran for the Senate - I think it was by petition, and it, therefore, would be in the general election.

Q And you have been, therefore, closely connected in one way or another with the Farmer-Labor Party, either as a member, worker and officer, or connected with the committee set-up and dandidacy? A: Yes, we have always tried to work with and support critically the Farmer-Labor Party - that is true.

Q And you were the author, were you not, of a letter to Governor Benson that was printed in pamphlet form - isn't that right? A: I think it was put put in the name of the Party. I don't know whether it was put out in my name or not.

(Government's Exhibit 239 marked for identification by the Reporter.)

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Q Now, I show you what has been marked Government's Exhibit 239 entitled "An Open Letter to Governor Benson" - and up at the top there is the heading, "The Farmer-Labor Party, a program", and on page 15 appears, "Socialist Workers Party, Minnesota Section, by V. R. Dunne, Organizer"? A: Yes, it was put out in the name of the Party.

Q And you were then the organizer? A: Yes, I was the organizer for the Party.

Q And you recognize Exhibit 239 as a pamphlet of the Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota? A: Yes, I do.

MR. ANDERSON: We offer in evidence as part of the cross-examination of this defendant, Government's Exhibit 239, both the heading on the front, and the printing in the back, or appearing on the back of the pamphlet.

MR. GOLDMAN: I thought you were going to introduce the whole pamphlet, and if the Government does introduce the whole pamphlet, I have no objection.

MR. ANDERSON: That is what we are doing.

THE COURT: It will be received.

MR. ANDERSON: I am not going to take the time to read all of it, but the pamphlet consists of fifteen pages, and it is signed, "Socialist Workers Party, Minnesota Section, by V. R. Dunne, Organizer", and I am reading now from page 14: "The Farmer-Labor Party must immediately and publicly propose national collaboration with the American Labor Party

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"and Labor's Non-Partisan League in creating a Labor Party," and on the back of this pamphlet: "Socialist Sunday Forum every Sunday 3 P. M. Socialist Workers Party Hall, 919 Marquette Ave., Minneapolis, Lectures on the Big Events of the Day, followed by Discussion. Speakers: V. R. Dunne, Felix Morrow, Carlos Hudson, Grace Carlson, Carl Skoglund, Miles B. Dunne, Max Geldman, etc. Read our Press. The Socialist Appeal", etc.

MR. GOLDMAN: I did not know what Mr. Anderson wanted to introduce this for. I thought he was introducing it for the contents of the pamphlet itself. He evidently wants to introduce these names of speakers at a certain forum or forums. It is completely hearsay evidence if that is his purpose. I have no objection to the introduction of the pamphlet, but I now object to what he has read as hearsay evidence, and I move that the evidence be stricken and the jury be instructed to disregard it.

THE COURT: Well, I think your motion is a little late. You stated that you had no objection to the introduction of the entire pamphlet.

MR. GOLDMAN: Not to the text, Your Honor.

THE COURT: When the Government introduces the pamphlet, you say you have no objection, and the Court admits it. Then when the Government reads part of it, you want it excluded. Overruled.

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MR. GOLDMAN: Exception.

Q Mr. Dunne, it was at that time the proposal of the Party to utilize the Farmer-Labor Party as a means for expressing the views of the Socialist Workers Party, was it not, in the election in 1938? A: I think that that cannot be answered merely yes or no. I would like to explain it if you will permit me to do so.

THE COURT: You may explain if you wish, but first answer yes or no if you can. Then if you desire to make an explanation, you may do so.

THE WITNESS: Well, a yes or no answer would not be accurate at all.

Q No, but at that election I will ask you the direct question, whether or not the Socialist Workers Party supported at least certain candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota? A: Yes, that is true, we did.

Q And in that campaign you made certain proposals to the then candidate for Governor of the Farmer-Labor Party, in this open letter to Governor Benson? A: Yes, that is correct.

Q And as we are to understand, the Socialist Workers Party as such had no candidate for office in Minnesota that year? A: No, I think we were unable to file a candidate at that time. We wanted to indicate our support of the Farmer-Labor Party and wanted to assist the Farmer-Labor Party and the workers generally in elaborating on what we thought would be

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a better program for the Party.

Q Then in the campaign of 1940 the Party did enter a candidate? A: Yes.

Q For the United States Senate? A: Yes, that is right.

Q In presenting such candidate was there any collaboration between the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party and the National Headquarters? A: Well, except in the way that we operate in the Party generally, I think that it could be said that there was collaboration.

Q In other words, it is fair to assume, is it not, that Grace Carlson, who was then a full-time employee of the Socialist Workers Party, in your office, or as a worker, was proposed as a candidate for United States Senator in Minnesota with the consent of the National Headquarters? A: There is one inaccuracy in your question, if I may correct it, that is, that Grace Carlson was not an employee. She was a voluntary worker for the Party.

Q Well, was she giving them, so-called full-time work for the Party? A: She was devoting her time to the Party, yes.

Q And she had severed her relationship with the Minnesota Department of Education some time before that? A: Yes.

Q And the purpose of entering Grace Carlson for the office of United States Senator was to give an opportunity for the Party to present its program? A: Yes.

Q To the people? A: Yes, to popularize its program, and ask

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for adherance - that is true.

Q You had known Grace Carlson for several years before that, hadn't you? A: For three or four years, yes.

Q And her entering this campaign as the Socialist Workers Party's candidate met with your approval? A: Yes, that is true.

Q And you participated in support of her candidacy, did you not? A: Yes, that is true.

Q And during that campaign Grace Carlson presented and participated in the discussion of the Socialist Workers Party's platform and program? A: As I recall it, she spoke many times to different groups at different places, as many times as possible, during the campaign.

Q Presenting the views and program of the Socialist Workers Party - is that right? A: Taking up the issues of the election, I would say, and presenting the program insofar as that could be done in such a manner, yes.

Q And in the issue of the Socialist Appeal of November 30, 1940, you wrote an article in connection with her campaign and her candidacy, in the election that had been had earlier that month? A: I believe that is true.

(Government's Exhibit 240 marked for identification by the Reporter.)

Q I show you the issue of this paper of the date stated which has been marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 240, and I ask you if the article in the first column is the

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article by you? A: Yes, that is the article.

Q Now, it was a fact, was it not, that regardless of the vote, the number of votes that Mrs. Carlson received, you stated as follows: "The total vote, though indicative of our support, is of course not the chief value of the election campaign. Many people have been brought closer to us by hearing for the first time in this campaign the revolutionary Marxist program." That is true, isn't it? A: That is the statement in the article, yes. (Exhibit 240 shown to witness) Yes, that is a correct statement.

Q And the statement then by Grace Carlson in the campaign, was, so far as you know, a statement of the Marxist revolutionary program, presented for the first time in Minnesota? A: Well, if you want to say that it was presented for the first time - I don't know how close you are going to hold to that kind of phraseology. The statement in general was true, yes.

MR. GOLDMAN: I want to call Mr. Anderson's attention to the fact that that was already introduced. It is part of Government's Exhibit 222-A.

MR. ANDERSON: Well, I have not introduced it now. It is in evidence.

MR. GOLDMAN: It is in evidence?

MR. ANDERSON: Yes.

MR. GOLDMAN: I did not know that you identified it as an exhibit.

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THE COURT: Well, so there will be no confusion, there should be some relation indicated between Exhibit 240 and Exhibit 222-A.

MR. ANDERSON: It is the same, I believe.

THE COURT: If Exhibit 222-A is in evidence, then if you want to mark Exhibit 240 - if it is the same thing there should be some statement in the record so there will not be any confusion.

MR. ANDERSON: It is a fact that Exhibit 222 and Exhibit 240 are the same; that Exhibit 222-A is the last paragraph of the column, by the witness. In connection with the cross-examinationof the witness, however, we offer that whole column as Exhibit 240-A.

MR. GOLDMAN: No objection.

THE COURT: It will be received.

Q Did you appear on the same program with Grace Carlson during that campaign? A: I don't recall that I did. I may have, at a forum meeting, or something like that.

(Government's Exhibit 241 marked for identification by the Reporter.)

Q I show you the issue of the Socialist Appeal of October 26, 1940.

MR. LeSUEUR: Will you state that over again? When you face the other way, we don't get it over here.

Q (Continued) I show you the issue of the Socialist Appeal of Saturday, October 26, 1940, which has been marked for identi-

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fication as Government's Exhibit 241. I call your attention to the fourth column on page 2 under the heading, "S. W. P. Candidate on Minneapolis Radio". That related to the radio speeches of Grace Carlson, didn't it? A: Yes, it did.

MR. ANDERSON: We offer in evidence at this time the article, "S. W. P. Candidate on Minneapolis Radio" as Exhibit 241-A, as part of the cross-examination of the witness.

(Conference at the bench between Mr. Goldman, Mr. Anderson and the Court.)

MR. GOLDMAN: I think that same thing is in evidence.

THE COURT: Well, if it is in evidence, why not use the exhibit that is already in evidence?

MR. GOLDMAN: I believe it is in evidence as Government's Exhibit 221-A.

MR. ANDERSON: That is only part of the article, Your Honor.

MR. GOLDMAN: It is going to be very confusing, Your Honor.

MR. ANDERSON: There are not going to be very many of them, but it is only part, and I want to introduce the whole article.

THE COURT: Is there any objection to it?

MR. GOLDMAN: No objection.

THE COURT: It will be received.

MR. ANDERSON: Reading from Exhibit 241-A: "Minneapolis,

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"October 21 - The Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota's candidate for United States Senator, Dr. Grace Carlson, will speak over Radio Station WLOL on Monday evenings, October 21, October 28 and November 4 at 10:00 P. M. The many contributions which have come in to the campgign headquarters from comrades and sympathizers, eager to have the party's program reach the people of Minnesota, have made the purchase of this radio time possible. Along with senatorial and congressional candidates of other political parties, Comrade Carlson addressed a meeting of the Saturday Lunch Club on October 19. She emphasized the fact that war is the central issue of the election campaign and that the ability of the candidates to meet the problems posed by the War is the basic measure of their fitness for the leadership of the workers and farmers. Our Military Policy. Contrasting the proletarian military policy of the Socialist Workers Party with the pacifist policy of the Communist Party and other so-called anti-war groups, Comrade Carlson created a sensation when she insisted that serious workers take advantage of the compulsory military training program in order to prepare to take over the power from the capitalist war-makers. To a Citizen's Alliance member show charged that this policy was vicious and inhuman, she retorted: "When the truck drivers of Minneapolis asked for only 42½¢ an hour, the Minneapolis bosses did not hesitate to use vicious and inhuman action

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"against them. The workers of the country must be prepared with military training and equipment so as to beat back the attacks of the capitalists when the workers decide that the time has come for them to take over the control of all the factories.' A number of meetings and campaign rallies have been scheduled for the last two weeks of the campaign. On November 1st an Election Rally will be held in St. Paul, at the Odd Fellow Hall at which Dr. Carlson will speak; on November 3rd, she will speak at an election rally in Duluth."

Q The policy of Dr. Grace Carlson, as stated in this paper, is the correct policy of the Party, is it not? A: With the explanation that she was speaking there, in the reference you have, to protect the workers' majority from the minority restraints of the capitalist class, that is correct.

Q But she stated the correct policy insofar as it expressed what that policy was? A: Yes. It could have been elaborated more, I think, but essentially I think that understanding could be had.

Q How many times did you speak in that campaign on the Party program? A: Well, really, Mr. Anderson, I couldn't say. I spoke as often as the opportunity presented itself, I am sure.

Q Well, that means it would be several times, would it?

A: Yes, as I recall, I spoke several times.

(Government's Exhibit 242 marked for identification by the Reporter.)

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Q I will show you this newspaper marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 242 and ask you whether or not that was the special Minnesota campaign issue of the Socialist Appeal of October 19, 1940, in connection with the candidacy of Grace Carlson for the United States Senate? A: Yes, that was the special issue.

Q And the statement in the first two columns under the heading, "All the other parties support boss rule" - "We stand for Workers' Power" - is that the program of the party? A: Yes, we want to achieve a workers and farmers' government, as the headline briefly states that idea.

Q The full article being included in the full two columns? A: Yes.

MR. ANDERSON: We offer in evidence at this time the last two paragraphs in column 2, of the Exhibit 242, as Exhibit 242-A.

MR. GOLDMAN: Mr. Anderson is stealing my thunder - that is all I have objection to - but I would like the whole issue; I mean, let them introduce the whole paper to give the program and platform of the Minnesota section of the Socialist Workers Party for the year of 1940, and I will have no objection.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: You mean all four pages?

MR. GOLDMAN: No, just the program and the platform, the front page - if Miss Carlson has no objection to the

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picture.

MR. ANDERSON: Well, she is not the one that published it.

THE COURT: Is there any objection to that paper going in?

MR. GOLDMAN: Not to the whole front page, Your Honor.

MR ANDERSON: There is another picture of the candidate on the second page.

MR. GOLDMAN: Well, it will go in, too, because you cannot separate the front page from the second page.

MR. ANDERSON: Then we offer pages 1 and 2 of Exhibit 242.

THE COURT: It will be received.

MR. ANDERSON: I am reading now just the last two paragraphs in column 2, from Exhibit 242: "As the only party pledged to an unswerving fight against war, fascism and tatalitarian dictatorship, we ask for the support of the workers and farmers of Minnesota on behalf of our candidate for U. S. Senator, Grace Carlson. Because of legal obstacles to the use of the word 'socialist', we found it necessary to file Dr. Carlson as the candidate of the 'Trotskyist Anti-war Party'. Your vote for Grace Carlson will signify your hatred of the imperialist war which Washington is preparing. It will signify your desire to organize to end the brutal and bankrupt capitalist system which can achieve only

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"a state of permanent war, never a state of peace, and plenty for the people. Your vote for Dr. Grace Carlson will signify your desire to build a Socialist United States of America and a Socialist World."

(Government's Exhibit 243 marked for identification by the Reporter.)

Q I show you the issue of the Socialist Appeal of Saturday, November 2, 1940, which has been marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 243 and ask you whether the article appearing on page 2: "S. W. P. Broadcasts to Minnesota Workers" is an article relating to the candidacy of Grace Carlson for United States Senator? A: Yes, that article relates to that.

Q And the V. R. Dunne mentioned in that article is yourself? A: Yes, that is true.

MR. ANDERSON: We offer the whole of that article as Government's Exhibit 243-A.

THE COURT: What is the date of that, Mr. Goldman, please?

MR. GOLDMAN: That is November 2, 1940. I can only object on the ground that it is cumulative, Your Honor. I object to it on the ground that it is cumulative. This is all you want to introduce, is it?

MR. ANDERSON: That is all I am introducing now.

THE COURT: Cumulative of what?

MR. GOLDMAN: Of the fact that she ran as Senatorial

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candidate in 1940.

THE COURT: Is that all there is in the offer?

MR. GOLDMAN: It says, "Grace Carlson, candidate for Senator, puts our military program on the air", etc.

MR. ANDERSON: I thought you were going to read it.

MR. GOLDMAN: It says, "Their feeble anti-war declarations, lacking the necessary economic interpretations of the causes of war, are as futile in this period as the action of a man who tries to hold back the tide with a broom." I just want to start the principle of objecting on the ground that it is cumulative, because I see no end to this.

THE COURT: Well, do you object to what you read to the jury?

MR. GOLDMAN: No, but I object to having all this introduced.

THE COURT: Well, taking the part just read by Mr. Goldman, does that bring out or accomplish the feature of the exhibit that you are interested in?

MR. ANDERSON: No.

MR. GOLDMAN: All the rest of it is hearsay. I object to that as hearsay, but I will save time if I do not object. I will withdraw my objection.

THE COURT: It will be received.

MR. ANDERSON: I will just read a couple of paragraphs, commencing where counsel quit: "Quoting at length from the

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"Manifesto of the Fourth International, she urged listeners 'to compare this forthright program against war with the confused, misleading and utterly inadequate declaration of the other candidates.' On Monday, November 4th, at 7:45 P. M. Comrade Carlson will again speak over Station WLOL on the other issues of the campaign. At a meeting to be held in the Odd Fellows Hall in St. Paul on November 1st, Comrade Carlson will speak on 'A Proletarian Military Policy'. She promises if elected to introduce a bill into the U. S. Senate providing the trade union movement with military equipment and instructors so that the workers might receive their military training, not under the labor-hating army machine, but under their own auspices. Two election rallies have been planned for Sunday, November 3rd. V. R. Dunne will speak at the meeting at 919 Marquette Avenue in Minneapolis at 3:30 P. M."

MR. GOLDMAN: You are not introducing the whole paper, are you, just that article?

MR. ANDERSON: Just that article.

MR. GOLDMAN: And you will cut it out of the paper?

MR. ANDERSON: No, I will have it copied.

MR. SHAMA: And will the same thing apply to all the other articles you offered this morning in all the newspapers?

MR. ANDERSON: No, it will not apply to all the other papers, but I will have copies made of the others, and only

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those are offered in evidence.

Q Mr. Dunne, you are familiar, I take it, with the statement of the Fourth International as published in the Socialist Appeal of June 29, 1940? A: I would say I am fairly familiar with it.

Q And you were at that time the National Committeeman for the Party from Minnesota - is that right? A: Well, not for Minnesota.

Q Well, for the Minneapolis branch? A: I was a member of the National Committee. If you asked me that, I would say "yes" - not representing anybody.

Q Well, were there any other members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party from Minnesota, except yourself? A: The committee is made up by election at a convention, not applied to just a certain place.

MR. ANDERSON: (To witness) Will you answer the question, please?

THE COURT: Read it.

(Question ready by the Reporter.)

A: (Continued) Yes, there were, at times.

Q In 1940 in June who were the others?

MR. GOLDMAN: I object to that, Your Honor. Counsel wants to get more people into the case. He has 23 - he had 28 to start with. I don't think that any witness should be asked, in this case, for the names of others of the National

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Committee or of any Party organization, Your Honor. It is unfair in view of the fact that counsel for the Government contends that membership is illegal, and they have gotten into their net already, 23. It is unfair, Your Honor, to ask such a question. Until the Government explicitly states that membership in the Party does not call for the arrest and indictment of members, it would be unfair to ask anybody on the witness stand to involve anyone with whom they are connected, and I submit that counsel should withdraw this question. We do not see any propriety in asking the question.

MR. ANDERSON: I don't know why counsel is so fearful of what might happen. We are talking about what has happened in the past.

MR. GOLDMAN: I am fearful of what you have done in the past, and what you will do in the future. I think it would be best all around, for the sake of the case, and for having this case go on - perhaps we should have a private conference on the matter.

MR. ANDERSON: Well, I will be glad to pass this for the time being, as long as the witness said he was a member.

MR. GOLDMAN: Very well.

Q At that time the Socialist Appeal published the conditions of workers regularly, that were then present - is that right?

A: I have not read the article recently. I don't know what you are referring to.

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MR. GOLDMAN: That pamphlet I think is in evidence. The pamphlet, or the Manifesto is in evidence, Your Honor. It will save time and a lot of confusion if counsel would use what is already in evidence.

THE COURT: Is that a fact, that this is in evidence?

MR. ANDERSON: The Manifesto is in evidence.

MR. GOLDMAN: Yes, and that is the Manifesto, if I am not mistaken.

THE COURT: If you are accurate in your statement, then I do not see why you have to have this exhibit, to duplicate something already in the record. Why not get the original record out here?

MR. ANDERSON: Well, of course, whether it is in evidence or not, I am calling attention now to the official organ of the Party, the newspaper, but I do not want to encumber the record.

THE COURT: Well, apparently that is what is being done. I think you ought to agree on whether or not this is in evidence.

MR. GOLDMAN: This Manifesto is in evidence. It is Government's Exhibit 43.

MR. ANDERSON: That is right.

MR. GOLDMAN: And I think, if I can look at that, that it is a reprint. Yes, it is a reprint.

THE COURT: If counsel agree that that is the fact,

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then I think you should use the exhibit that is already in evidence.

MR. ANDERSON: I have tried to check it, and I do not find that it is the same.

MR. GOLDMAN: I will show it to you.

MR. ANDERSON: All right, show me what appears here, "The conditions for workers' revolution are present".

MR. GOLDMAN: It is on page 40.

MR. ANDERSON: Well, the heading in Exhibit 43 is "The Proletarian Revolution".

Q You are familiar with that statement of "conditions for revolution were then present", aren't you? A: Yes, I think so.

Q And that stated the program of the Party in the United States as you understood it? A: Well, that paragraph alone does not, no. It helps, in connection with the whole statement, yes.

Q But on that particular feature - is that right? A: Yes.

Q I call your attention to page 36 of this Exhibit 43 in connection with "The trade unions and the war" and ask you if that is a correct statement of the policy as you understand it; "In war time the trade union bureaucracy definitely becomes the military police of the Army's General staff in the working class." A: Well, that sentence taken alone cannot possibly give the correct meaning to anyone. One would have to read the entire document in order to get what we are talking about there.

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Q And in the last paragraph under the heading, "The trade unions and the war" where the statement appears - I will ask you if that is correct: "A new epoch demands new methods. New methods demand new leaders. It is possible to have the trade unions in only one way: by transforming them into fighting organizations which will set as their goal victory over capitalist anarchy and imperialist banditry." A: Yes, that was our position, that the workers' organization should attempt, through their organization, to make the change-over from capitalism to socialism - that is correct. We believe they cannot solve their problems under capitalism; that they could aid themselves but not solve their deep problems.

Q Then the following statement under the same heading: "The trade unions will play a paramount role in building socialist economy, but the preliminary condition for this is the overthrow of the capitalist class and the nationalization of the means of production. The trade unions can escape burial beneath the ruins of war only if they take the road of socialist revolution." A: Yes, we believe in a workers' and farmers' government, the trade unions will play a very great role, an extremely important role.

Q And the way to solve that is to have a socialist revolution? A: Yes, we want to change the order, from capitalism to socialism - that is correct.

(Government's Exhibits 244 to 248, inclusive marked for identification by the Reporter.)

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Q I show you a leaflet marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 244. Was that a publication of the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party? A: Yes, that was a leaflet in support of the labor slate, the slate of the labor party.

Q I show you a leaflet marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 245 and ask you if that is also a leaflet of the Socialist Workers Party? A: Yes - May Day Manifesto, 1939- that is right.

MR. ANDERSON: We offer in evidence as part of the cross-examination of the witness Government's Exhibits 244 and 245.

MR. GOLDMAN: No objection.

THE COURT: They will be received.

Q And, of course, you are familiar with the pamphlet, Government's Exhibit 246 which I have before me? A: It is some time since I have seen it, but I recognize what it is. It is an election leaflet.

MR. ANDERSON: I offer in evidence Government's Exhibit 246 as part of the cross-examination of the witness.

MR. GOLDMAN: No objection.

THE COURT: It will be received.

Q And also the leaflet marked Government's Exhibit 247 headed, "The Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party" - you are familiar with that? A: Yes, I think so.

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MR. ANDERSON: I offer in evidence as part of the cross-examination of the witness Government's Exhibit 247.

MR. GOLDMAN: No objection.

THE COURT: It will be received.

Q I take it you are also familiar with the leaflet marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 248? A: Yes, that was a leaflet in support of our participation in the St. Paul election campaign.

MR. ANDERSON: We offer Government's Exhibit 248 in evidence, as part of the cross-examination of the witness.

MR. GOLDMAN: No objection.

THE COURT: It will be received.

Q I am reading to you now from Government's Exhibit 245: "This war is not labor's war. Labor's war, in every country, is against the war-makers, against Roosevelt as well as Hitler, Chamberlain as well as Mussolini." That is the correct attitude of the Party, isn't it? A: Yes, we are against imperialist war - that is correct.

Q I am still reading to you from Exhibit 245: "Within every great power, the main enemy of the workers is in their own country. Against that enemy must labor's blows be first directed, not against the brother-workers and farmers of other lands."

MR. GOLDMAN: Will you read that again, please?

Q (Continued) I will read it again: "Within every great power,

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"the main enemy of the workers is in their own country. Against that enemy must labor's blows be first directed, not against the brother-workers and farmers of other lands." That is a correct statement of the attitude of the Party, isn't it? A: It is a condensation of the principle, always, that the workers and working masses should be opposed to capitalists.

Q And that is the means and the manner in which you state your position on that point - is that right? A: I don't believe I understand your question, Mr. Anderson.

Q Well, I say, those were the words and the manner in which the opposition was stated? A: Yes, it is the slogan in the election leaflet.

Q And is this also a correct statement of the policy of the Party: "No support, not a penny, not a man, to the United States Government in its war"? A: I think it is badly formulated, but in general it is a statement of our refusal to give any policital support to a capitalist war.

Q Now then, calling your attention to Government's Exhibit 244, I will ask, regardless now of your Party affiliation or mind, and no reflection on any party, but this is what is stated on page - it is the first page on the inside of the circular: "The Farmer-Labor party id dead. But the movement for a labor party based on the trade unions has revived with a bang." Is that the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party with respect to a reformist party like the Farmer-Labor Party?

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A: I think that it is a brief statement that does not give the full explanation. That paragraph alone certainly could not clarify it, without reading the rest of the article or without participating in discussions that were always taking place.

Q I will read the rest of the paragraph: "Twenty years ago the Minneapolis unions decided the two old boss parties -- the Republicans and the Democrats -- offered only a blind alley to the workers. Everything that has happened in this country during the last twenty years of combined Republican-Democratic rule has only confirmed this view. The misery of the masses is greater than ever. The threat of a new imperialist war is closer. Labor must build a party of its own, a nation-wide labor party, independent of and opposed to the bosses' parties." A: Yes, that gives a much clearer understanding of what our position is.

Q And it is part of the program of the Socialist Workers Party to advocate an independent labor partY? A: Yes, we want to have the workers participate in politics, the working masses - that is correct - in their own way, with their own party.

Q Well, you mean that labor should have its own party?

A: Yes, I say that that is correct.

Q "Labor must build a party of its own, a nation-wide labor party, independent of and opposed to the bosses' parties"?

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A: That is correct.

Q And that is the party that would present candidates and go into the election, in compliance with the Constitutional provisions for holding legal elections? A: That is correct. We want to win the contest for the majority that way.

Q And that the Socialist Workers Party is a revolutionary party? A: Yes, that is our contention.

Q And that the Socialist Workers Party, as a part of its revolutionary program fosters and permits the building of a separate labor party to operate within the constitutional and statutory limitations? A: I think it can be said that that is true. We anticipate that movement with the workers' and farmers' organizations generally, to be independent in every possible way, and to bring forward the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party - that is true.

Q I am still reading from Exhibit 244: "We are sure, however, that those friends familiar with our political views will not be confused by this maneuver but will give their support to all candidates of the labor conference, despite the fact that none of them is a revolutionary socialist."

A: I do not make any clear understanding out of what you read there. It must be preceded by something else. Just those lines alone might lead to a misunderstanding.

Q I appreciate that, so I will read on: "Eide is not the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and our party is not

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"responsible for his behaviour, in or out of office." In other words, this leaflet is in support of Eide, but you make the statement there that the Party is not supporting him or that he is not a revolutionary socialist? A: Yes, we tried to make our meaning as understandable as possible in that short leaflet. We supported Eide in his stand taken at that time on the war.

Q And whatever candidates were in the field, you made a statement in connection with one of them? A: Yes.

Q Now, Mr. Dunne, is the Socialist Workers Party the Communist Party? A: I don't think that that is the way to describe it; that is, there is much confusion around those terms, and especially since Stalin's rise to power in Russia, and the situation has been distorted there; and to say to the average person that the Socialist Workers Party is the Communist Party, particularly in the fundamentals, it perhaps could be said that that is true, but it would lead to a great misunderstanding.

Q Because of the situation in Russia? A: Because of the dictatorship of Stalin in Russia.

Q And opposed to that dictatorship you understand to be the lifetime thought and opposition of Leon Trotsky? A: Yes, indeed, and to that he devoted the greater part of his life.

Q And you, and others, here in the United States, picked out

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the side of Trotsky and supported it, or his views? A: Generally speaking; not all of his views, but his basic views, yes.

Q Well, one of those basic views was, at least, that the socialism that you invisioned is a worldwide socialism, isn't it? A: We do not believe that socialism can attain its full development in one country, that is, in one spot in the world. It requires the major part of the productive capacity that has been developed in the world, to give it a real chance to develop. We believe that. We do not believe it can come to its full flower in a limited way.

Q And that is one of the things on which the so-called Stalinists differ with the Trotskyits - is that right? A: Yes, that was the chief difference, I would say; that is, that was one of the differences that grew up after the original differences and the dictatorial attitude of Stalin manifested itself in the movement in Russia. I think that was the main difference, that they thought they could build socialism in one country. We maintain that that could not be done.

Q And that has been the view of you and your associates, that in order to attain and develop and this so-called worldwide socialism, there must be an end to the present regime in Russia? A: Yes, we believe that the workers and farmers in Russia will never find freedom under the present rule of Stalin. We know that.

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Q Well, I understood, from your examination on Friday, that you stated you had talked on a number of occasions on the Russian situation and the Russian Revolution? A: Yes.

Q And matters connected with the Russian situation? A: Yes, that is true.

Q And your publications, the Fourth International, the New International, and the Socialist Appeal all have references in them, every so often, to that situation? A: Very often - not every issue, I don't think.

Q And outside of writing and talking about it, what has your Party done? A: Well, I think the chief contribution that we have made to the Russian revolution is the ideas, the writings and statements that we have made to support it; the attempt to educate the majority of the American workers to that concept, of the change-over from capitalism to socialism. I would say that is our chief contribution; criticism of the dictatorship of Stalin; attempting to clarify those questions.

Q And then, under the guise or cover of criticism of Stalin, you have proposed a revolutionary action in this country similar to that in Russia in 1917? A: No, I think that is a badly stated position, Mr. Anderson.

Q Well, the revolution that you have envisioned in the United States has been one similar to that of October, 1917, in Russia, hasn't it? A: I would not say that was true. Conditions are entirely different here than they are there.

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In general, we have indicated that, quite often and as clearly as we could over a long period of time. We want a change-over, from the capitalist order to a socialist society, but the difference in the economy of the country, the difference in the people, different levels of education - all those things would certainly make a great deal of difference; yet, of course, leaving aside the question that here we have a way to approach the masses, to ask them to accept our ideas and do it legally. We have that possibility.

Q Then of what interest or concern is the Russian situation, to the situation in the United States? A: Well, the Russian workers really did away with the capitalist forms in Russia, went over to a workers' and farmers' government and state, set-up. Even with their poor means and their limited technical ability, nevertheless they had the capacity to lay the basis for a magnificent growth in economy, the welfare of the people and so on. We think that is a very good example. We think it is an example that should impress those whom we seek, to support our ideas. We think it was a very, very important, if not the most important, of all movements.

THE COURT: We will take our morning recess at this point.

(Morning recess)

Q Mr. Dunne, I call your attention to an article that appeared in the Socialist Appeal of April 26, 1941. That is a public-

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ation of the Socialist Workers Party, is it not? A: Yes.

Q I will ask you whether or not this represents correctly the policy and program of the Party?

MR. GOLDMAN: You must be referring to the Militant.

MR. ANDERSON: Yes, it is The Militant, Your Honor.

Q (Continued) "How shall the workers move toward taking charge?/ By increasing the power of the workers' organizations until they can wrest all power from the bourgeoisie. That is why the workers are profoundly correct in striking against the bosses despite all the 'national defense' ballyhoo. Our only criticism is that the insufficient program under which the strikes are carried on renders the strikes less effective than they can be." Is that the correct policy of the Party?

A: We believe that the workers in their organizations should utilize their organizations for the betterment of their conditions. Yes, that is true.

Q Then further, the article continues: "No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking -- demand that the trade union officials resign from all appointive posts in the government. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and government cops." Is that the correct attitude and the program of the Party?

A: We believe that the workers should protect themselves against thuggery, that they should protect their organizations and their strikes, if they are on strike, from disruption.

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We believe that, yes.

Q Then calling your attention to the article on page 4, column 3 of the same issue, the section under "May Day in America during the War" - "Today, when reaction has blacked out May Day in so many countries, we need only remember the history of May Day during the last war to understand that the revolutionary spirit and character of May Day can never be destroyed." That is a correct statement, is it? A: I think that I would say that I believe that the spirit of May Day will live, yes. I think it will live in the minds of the workers as a symbol, as a day on which they will bring forward their ideas for the change from capitalism to socialism.

Q Is that what this May Day itself indicates? A: That is the significance it has now, I think. It was an American institution developed in the struggle for a shorter working day, and gradually became the symbolism of the change from capitalism to socialism.

Q How did it come to be called May Day? A: It is a long story. I am not a historian. It had its beginning in the past, in the awakening of spring and so on, I believe, and the things to come in the future, and so on.

Q Then the article continues: "That spirit lives on in the vilest hell-holes and prison-camps of fascists Europe, just as it lived through the darkest years of the last war. Even before the last war had ended, the workers of the world could

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"celebrate the victory of the first successful workers' revolution. The end of this war may well witness -- it shall -- witness the greatest May Day celebration of all, marking the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the world socialist revolution." A: That expresses the hope that the capitalist system can be ended, and the workers and farmers can establish peace and a socialist order on the earth. I think it can be said to be correct in that sense.

Q Well, Mr. Dunne, going back to the election campaign in 1938, I am reading from the Socialist Appeal of Saturday, October 15, 1938, and under the heading of "For Independent Labor Politics in Elections".

THE COURT: What is the exhibit number?

MR. ANDERSON: This has not been marked.

Q (Continued) "The problems of the workers are not solved by what happens on this or any other Election Day." Is that the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party? A: No, that sentence alone would be a distortion of the view, or what I would say could be said to be right, but generally, I would say it could be said to be right.

Q I will read from there on: "But if this campaign period sees a real advance in the extent and clarity with which the need for geniune, fighting, independent working-class political activity is understood by the workers themselves, it will be a victory, and a lasting one." A: Yes, we believe

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that any progress that is made towards building a labor party or a farmer-labor party is a progressive thing. We support that idea. We think it is a very, very excellent way to put forward the idea before the workers, that they must rely upon their own organizations, their own electoral campaigns, and achieve the change-over through their own organizations. We think that is true.

Q And so do the Stalinists, don't they? A: Well, I am not prepared, Mr. Anderson, to say what they think. They change their minds so often.

Q Well, so do the socialists, don't they? A: Well, not in regard to their fundamental program, I don't think. We do change our opinions with the practical situations of the day, depending upon the situations that develop, but in general, I would say, that our fundamental ideas are not changed. That is not true of the Stalinists, however, if they have any fundamental ideas left.

Q Well, we will not decide that here. You do not have to include that in your answer. My reference is to the Socialist Party, or just to the Stalinist group. A: Well, you said - I assumed you meant the Socialist Workers Party.

Q No, I meant the Socialist Party. A: Well, there again I want to explain that I am not entirely familiar with their theory, and we do not agree with them. We do not believe they have the right outlook.

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Q Well, you were a so-called Socialist, and affiliated with that party in at least one campaign election, were you not? A: That is true.

Q In 1936? A: That is true.

Q I am reading now from the Socialist Appeal of November 5, 1938, Exhibit 68-A: "A little more than a year ago, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party expelled the party's revolutionary left wing." Was that the group or a group that you were associated with? A: I assume that is what it refers to there. I don't know.

Q "At that time we predicted not merely that thereafter the Socialist Party would beat a hasty and uninterrupted retreat to the right (a virtually self-evident conclusion, since there would no longer be a firm left force to pull it in a contrary direction) - ". I take it that refers to the right or more conservative attitude? A: Yes, I think that is true. They moved towards a position of giving political support to war-makers and so on. That was what we had special reference to there.

Q " - but that the National Executive Committee in the act of expulsion was taking the first decisive step in the liquidation of the party itself." A: That is right. They abrogated the democratic position of their own power by expelling them.

Q Then the statement also goes on: "Within the Socialist Party

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"there were a certain number of serious militants, honestly and actively desirous of building a genuinely revolutionary party within this country, who disagreed with our estimate." That is a correct statement, is it? A: I think that is true. We thought they disagreed on many things. Many of them did.

Q The statement continues: "For one or another reason, they elected to remain within the Socialist Party instead of joining with the expelled left wing in the foundation of the Socialist Workers Party." Is that correct? A: That is correct. Many of the workers sided with the Socialist Party.

Q Then the article goes on: "What are the militants, the revolutionary workers, who remain, to do? They cannot follow the National Executive Committee without shameful capitulation. They must decide whether they really mean business about building an American party of the socialist revolution, or whether they are going to lie down and quit."

Q I am reading now from Exhibit 200-A: "Why we defend the Soviet Union" by Albert Goldman, page 28. I will ask you if this is a correct statement of the position of the Party? "Revolutionary Marxists can only look with comtempt upon these people who have not yet learned or who have forgotten that the capitalist state remains a capitalist state no matter how many 'Socilists' there may be in parliament, that the capitalist state, in any war, defends the interests of the capitalist class and these interests are of no concern to the workers."

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A: I think that is a fair statement of our position.

Q How long have you known Leon Trotsky? A: I met him in 1938. That was the only time I met him.

Q Was there any special reason why you made a visit to him at that time? A: Well, I don't know that there was an special reason for it. I was taking advantage of the possibility of having a consultation with him, going over certain things with him, and that was one of the reasons I think, that we went there, to try to find an agreement on how best to protect him, and allow him to continue his work of writing and so on. I think if anything could be said to be special about it, that would be it.

Q What do you state to be the position or connection of Leon Trotsky at the time of his life, with the Socialist Workers Party? A: Oh, I think he was the outstanding leader of the movement that we were a part of, and he was our theoretist and our writer. In general he was the outstanding leader of the whole international movement and he was attempting to revive the true spirit of true internationalism among the workers of the world.

Q And he had, so far as you know, the same relationship to the other party that constituted the Fourth International as he did to the Socialist Workers Party in the United States?

A: Much the same.

Q And I take it that with that relationship with the Party, that

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Leon Trotsky had, that you looked to him for interpretation of Marxism? A: Yes, in a great measure we did. That is true.

Q And that your Party was a Marxist revolutionary party - is that true? A: We tried to make it that, yes.

Q And in order to best be able to follow Marxism you used Trotsky's interpretation and experience and philosophy on that subject, didn't you? A: Well, we put our views or our program in our Declaration of Principles, and tried to apply Marxism to the American situation and desired to accomplish the change-over to socialism. That is correct, I think. Within that general field of work, Leon Trotsky was the advisor and the leader of the party.

Q Now, your Party issued a comprehensive study on "What is Trotskyism?" in an outline course, by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party, did you not? A: Are you asking me whether that was published -

Q Your Party did issue such a pamphlet or bulletin? A: Yes.

Q By the duly constituted department known as the National Education Department of the Party? A: That is right.

Q And you, being on the National Committee, were instrumental or a party to a setting up of the various committees in the Party? A: Well, if you will pardon me, but you are not now leaving the proper understanding. I did not help to set up the Education Department, for instance, except that as a

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member of the committee I agreed it should be done.

Q That is what I mean. A: I am not a theorestician or a writer. I do not want that impression left here.

Q But as a member of the National Committee you were instrumental in setting up this committee? A: Yes.

Q And other committees? A: Yes.

Q Whatever committees there were? A: Yes.

Q And also in the selection, appointment, or employment of writers, editors, editorial boards - isn't that true?

A: No, I very seldom, if ever, participated in that, except in the general discussion in the National Committee. Those things were not generally referred to me.

Q I don't think you understood my question. A: Perhaps not.

Q My question was that the National Committee selected the editorial boards for their publications? A: Generally the Political Committee I think did that.

Q Sanctioned, of course, by the National Committee? A? Oh, yes.

Q And this publication, "What is Trotskyism?" is a publication of the Party and was distributed and used here in the Minneapolis branch? A: Yes.

Q And that represented, as stated in the introduction, a study of every single side of "What is Trotskyism"? A: I don't know that I have ever read that document, nor have I ever heard that. I would like to say this, that in the education

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department there were, I presume, several views as to what constitutes Trotskyism. Just as in the discussion of anything else, there are various views, where there is a difference of opinion. On a particular subject like that I don't know that you could say that there was an entirely clear on what Trotskyism is.

Q Did the Party, while you have been a member of its National Committee, ever publish any other publication on "What is Trotskyism" other than the one I have here? A: I don't know whether they did or not. There have been, I think, several documents published by the Education Department, dealing with that subject. Whether there was more than one on that particular subject, I am not certain.

Q But this one here, "What is Trotskyism" was published after Trotsky's death, was it not? A: If I remember correctly, that is true, it was.

Q Now then, Mr. Dunne, I take it that you, so far as you know, and so far as you have ever had occasion to investigate it, you believed in Trotsky's interpretation of Marxism, didn't you? A: Quite generally, I am quite sure that is true, yes.

Q I am reading now from page 2, and I ask, as we go along, if these views agree with yours, and if you understand them to be the program and policy of the Party, and you check me any time there is any question. "Marxism is nothing if not revolutionary. The revisionists tried to gloss over this

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"fact, even going so far as to censor and delete the works of Marx and Engels so as to tone them down. They made the mistake of all near-sighted thinkers of believing that the period of capitalist expansion and progressiveness would continue indefinitely. They saw in their life-time the granting of various reforms and concessions to the workers and they generalized their process into the far distant future. The workers would not need to resort to force to change society; by a gradual extension of reforms capitalism would turn into its opposite." So far that agrees with your views, does it?

A: Well, I - what you are reading there is apparently a discussion of many different views of what Marx and Engels stood for, discussion sometimes that I am not sure related to the program of the Party, discussion of the course of events. I am not sure that you are correctly informed there, Mr. Anderson.

Q Well, I am asking you if it does not agree with your ideas and the policy of the Party, and if not, wherein it differs. Continuing on, "The classic exposition of this was Bernstein's 'Evolutionary Socialism'. One night the people would go to sleep under capitalism, the next morning they would wake up under socialism without even realizing that there had been any change. This utterly Utopian dream was rudely shattered by the First World War. It required the storm of the Russian Revolution itself to sweep away all the chaff of revisionism

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"and to lay bare once again the true core of Marxism. The Russian Revolution was the greatest event of all history up to its time. It did not occur by accident but was prepared for long in advance. Its two greatest architects were Lenin and Trotsky. It revealed these two as the true inheritors of revolutionary Marxism; their great genius enabled them to carry out the greatest of all tasks in a manner that places them on the same plane as the founders of Marxism. It is one of the remarkable facts of history that there existed simultaneously two such leaders with such astonishing unanimity on the main tasks of the Russian Revolution. The one writing in Zurich, the other in New York City presented precisely the same analysis of the course events would follow. Both proved their complete mastery of Marxism."

A: I do not find anything to except to in that. It is not complete, that is all.

Q Reading now from page 3: "Trotskyism sums up all the lessons of the struggles up to the present time after the death of Lenin. Trotskyism means the fight against the theory of socialism in one country, the fight for planned economy, the combatting of Stalinist-Menshevism in colonial revolutions as well as in the revolutions of the advanced countries, the revolutionary struggle against fascism, above all the theory of the permanent revolution." Do you agree with that? A: Yes, I think that that also, in addition to

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what you have already read, expresses it.

Q I am not reading it all. Now, on page 5 under "Attitude to Class Struggle" - "Marxism is based on the theory of class struggle. In this struggle the interests of the workers are sharply opposed to those of the capitalists. Socialism is the goal of the working class and means the death of the capitalist class. Revisionism does not accept this view of class struggle. It believes in a 'common welfare' of 'society as a whole'. There are social interests that stand above class interests. Revisionism thus tries to reconcile the classes and leads to class collaboration." Is that your understanding of the program of the Party? A: There are many definitions of revisionism. The kind spoken of there, I think, is the teaching that socialism falls within any changed capitalist order itself, and does not teach the necessity of organizing a party to lead the majority, so that there can be a change made.

Q Then I am reading from the same page under the heading, "Attitude to Revolution" - "To realize socialism Marxism posits that it is first necessary to destroy the state machinery of the capitalist ruling class; namely, the army, the police, and the state bureaucracy. Although Marxists fight for reforms of the present state, this is only in order to shake and weaken capitalism. The workers in order to retain the power will have to establish a state of their own

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"representing dictatorship of the proletariat. The destruction of the capitalist state can only occur by revolution." A: I think, Mr. Anderson, that what you have read there in the last paragraph is not a good explanation, taken by itself. What is meant there is that we ought to establish a workers' and farmers' government. That government would have the machinery peculiar to administering the needs of the maximum majority of the people. That would not be the same as the capitalist state machinery is today. You may have different forms, very likely will have. That is what is meant there.

Q How can you interpret it any differently from what it says in this statement: "The destruction of the capitalist state can only occur by revolution." A: A transfer of property, that is, the property of production, the big property of production, will take place. It will be a change from the hands of the capitalist class, to the people as a whole. That would be a revolution under our understanding.

Q Reading now from page 5: "Revisionism states that socialism can be realized through piecemeal reforms, political and economic. Thus they rely on universal suffrage, parliamentary activity and other measures that can be carried out under the present system. For this purpose it is necessary to have 'real' democracy in the form of representative government, with its defects gradually removed and desirable

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"features, like recall and referendum, introduced. Force must not be used to bring about the end of capitalism. Legal methods will suffice and force only proves harmful historically." Is that what you understand by the attitude of the revisionists? A: Well, I think what is being dealt with there is the criticism of revisionists, the attitude of most of the workers and farmers and small business men, that there is no danger of a semi-fascist or a fascist assault against the majority. We believe that there is a strong probability, and therefore, we teach that that is so. We believe that the majority of the people in the United States could very well, the overwhelming majority of them, want to establish a workers' government, and will be attacked and slaughtered if they are not prepared.

Q But it is not the theory and policy of the revisionists, but of the Socialist Workers Party, that I have read in this paragraph? A: Well, it is a matter for discussion. It is not a finished statement of the program of the Party, no.

Q Now, I am reading from page 7 under the heading, "The Revolution of 1905" - "Instead of carrying out the revolution, the bourgeois leaders now acted to curb the revolution and bring it to an end as quickly as possible. The workers could never be satisfied with the small democratic gains that the bourgeois radicals were content with. Hence Marx concluded in his 'Address to the Communist League' in 1850:

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"'The democratic demands can never satisfy the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty-bourgeoisie would like to bring the revolution to a close as soon as their demands are more or less complied with, it is in our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, to keep it going until all the ruling and possessing classes are deprived of power, the government machinery occupied by the proletariat and the organization of the working class of all lands is so far advanced that all rivalry and competition among themselves has ceased; until the more important forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. With us it is not a matter of reforming private property but of abolishing it, not of hushing up the class antagonism, but of abolishing the classes, not of ameliorating the existing society but of establishing a new one." That is a statement of Karl Marx. A: Yes, I was going to say, it is a discussion of historical material, and it is purely a discussion. It is not a statement of the program of the Party.

Q It is a statement of what Marx said on the subject?

A: Yes.

Q And your Party is a Marxist party? A: Yes.

Q Now, reading from page 8 under the heading, "The Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry" - "Lenin's greatest contribution in the Russian Revolution of 1917

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"was the building up of the Bolshevik Party, the fundamental instrument for proletarian revolution." Do you agree with that statement? A: Yes, I think that could be said to be correct.

Q Then on Page 10 under the heading, or rather on page 9, under the heading of "The Russian Revolution of 1917-1918" - "The 'legal' basis for carrying through the revolution came with the convening of the Second All-Russian Soviet in October. To the Marxist insurrection is an art. The Bolshevik Party showed itself master of this art. It knew how to make use of the revolutionary situation at just the right moment." Do you agree with that statement? A: Well, I don't know that I would agree with every line of that statement myself. I am not familiar with that material that is being dealt with there in the sense of understanding every part of it, but I think in general what they are speaking about there is that the Russian masses comprised the majority, and changed from a capitalist to a socialist basis.

Q Well, the Socialist Workers Party of the United States at least compares itself with the Bolshevik Party in Russia, isn't that correct? A: In a certain way that is true.

Q To be a revolutionary party? A: Yes, but I think, Mr. Anderson, if you will permit me to say so, that you are striving now - at least it seems so to me - that you are ascribing to the Socialist Workers Party the necessity to

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follow everything that was done by the Bolshevik Party in Russia. That certainly would not be true.

Q I did not so state when I asked you the question.

A: Well, that was my understanding. You asked me to interrupt you if necessary.

Q Yes, that is true, but the statement says, "To the Marxist insurrection is an art. The Bolshevik Party showed itself master of this art." You agree with that, don't you?

A: I don't think I would agree on that. I would if it were a discussion of a scientific fact, in dealing with it as a whole, but in taking that by itself, that statement, it may be right and it may be wrong. I don't think it would apply.

Q Well, would you approve of that statement? A: No, I don't believe that I am capable of going into a discussion of this unless I had a long time for an exchange of ideas here. The insurrection spoken of there was the taking of the power by the majority of the Russian people. That was what that was, in my opinion. In that sense, I agree with it.

Q Now, going to page 11 under the heading of, "The Internal Dialectical Struggle of the Party" - "The aim of a working class party is to prepare the workers to take power. This is not only a work of persuasion and propaganda, but one above all of guidance and direction. Programs are not general theories that stand for all time. On the contrary, they are closely tied to time and circumstance. A party

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"must have a perspective of the economic and political trend in the coming period, from which flow the proper ideas and tactics for the working class to follow in order to take the correct road. One set of tactics will be adopted for an advance in the class struggle, an entirely different set for a retreat, after the bourgeoisie has won the battle. We do not call for an insurrection every day in the week, -- only on those rare occasions when revolutionary situations develop in society."

A: Yes, I think, Mr. Anderson, that that is true, that we are not accepting that as our policy, or placing our necessity for action on everything that was done in Russia. The demands of the situation in this country are entirely different. That is what is being spoken of there. Certainly we will change our methods many times, depending on how many people in this country support us.

Q Now, on page 12 under the heading, "The Crisis in Society Reflects in the Party" - "True, the peasants had supported the Bolsheviks in the seizure of power because they had promised the peasants the land and had encouraged the peasants to seize the land without waiting for any decrees."

A: I don't know that that could stand by itself, or whether that is an opinion of some particular individual. I am not entirely familiar with the exact situation in regard to the peasants and the seizure of land. I know they took

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lands. They were a terribly miserable and exploited group. I know they took lands, but in general it is not true.

Q Well, it is fair to say that Trotsky knew what he spoke of, is it not? A: I know that in certain ways that was true, but as I say, I am not a theorestician, and this particular pamphlet I said that I have not read.

Q You say you have not read it? A: No.

Q In all of your speeches - A: I told you that I had never read that particular pamphlet, although I am familiar with many of the matters in it, naturally.

Q Now, reading from page 24 under the heading, "German Debacle of 1923-24" - "Trotsky stated that it was necessary to prepare for insurrection and to take the power". Do you agree with that statement? A: I do not know that I understand exactly what he was dealing with there. I would have to read the mass of the material to be sure that that is a correct statement.

Q I am now reading from page 35 under the heading, "Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution" - "The struggle against imperialism could be nothing but a revolutionary struggle in which the masses must be set in motion. It was possible to arouse the masses against imperialism only by connecting their basic life interests with the struggle for national liberation. Workers' strikes, agrarian revolts, the fight against usury and militarism, these would weld together the

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"beal forces necessary to throw off imperialism. This would drive the bourgeoisie into open alliance with the imperialists. But itowould expose their reactionary nature and put the proletariat at the lead of the revolution. It would be absolutely fatal to pursue a policy of moderating the class struggle, to prevent arming of the masses (a Stalinist policy!) and to subordinate the communists to the Kuomintang."

A: He is speaking there of the Chinese Revolution.

Q No, he is speaking of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. A: I mean, he is talking there about the Chinese revolution, I believe. He is dealing with the situation in China, which is totally different than here, or in Russia, and while it is very likely a correct statement of the facts there, it certainly has nothing to do with the program of the Party, as I see it.

Q Well, it was the Party that created and put together and edited and sold and distributed this particular publication, wasn't it? A: That is true, but that is a matter of discussion. We believe in the discussion of articles connected with the class struggle in various parts of the world.

Q Now, on page 35 under the heading, "The Independence of the Party" - "It must fight under its own banner, not under an alien one of another class. The CP must utilize its independence, said Trotsky, to work within the army and within the ranks of the workers and peasants to organize their

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"struggle. Back of the lines of the army, they must establish soviets to build the fordes of the revolution under the guidance and the leadership of the proletariat. The Stalinists rejected the idea of building soviets in great alarm in the period of revolutionary rise when they were perfectly feasible."

MR. GOLDMAN: Let the record show that Mr. Anderson is reading from the section entitled, "Colonial Revolutions: The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27". If you will turn to page 33, you will see the heading of that section.

MR. ANDERSON: I am reading from the sub-heading, "Independence of the Party".

MR. GOLDMAN: But it all deals with the Chinese Revolution, and the colonial revolutions.

MR. ANDERSON: Well, I will take your word for it, counsel.

Q (Continued) Now going to page 39 under the heading, "Role of Social Democracy" about the middle of the paragraph - "Social democracy teaches workers to rely on parliamentary institutions which are utterly hopeless against fascism. By these very policies social democracy only prepares the way for fascism. Considered from the point of view of bourgeois rule social democracy and fascism supplement each other, the ruling class leaning on one or the other, depending on which will suffice. But that does not mean that they are

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"one and the same thing." Is that a correct statement?

A: I think it is an attempt to discuss the policy in general, or the theory that we hold, the prediction that we make, and we believe must be brought forward and made clear to the workers and the farmers and the people generally whom we try to attract to our party and our movement. We believe there is a great danger of reliance only on parliamentary procedure towards the majority; that at a certain time there is a great danger for the small majority, of action coming against that majority; that unless they are prepared, disaster will come to them. We think that is a true statement. We believe that.

MR. GOLDMAN: Let the record show that that section was read from the section dealing with Germany. It is entitled, "Germany and the United Front" - "The Revolutionary Fight Against Fascism." That is a sub-section dealing with the main section with reference to Germany.

Q I am reading now from page 48, under the title "The New Turn and its Effects" - "The policy of Marxism remains that of utilizing the war and the arming of the workers to further the interests of the world revolution, to turn the imperialist war into civil war, to look upon the bourgeoisie at home as the main enemy. Fascism can be defeated only through proletarian revolution."

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A: Yes, we believe that fascism will arise, and that it must be driven out. We want to get the majority of the people to understand the grave danger that there is from the fascist group, of the fascist attempt to take power for the minority.

Q I am reading now from page 49 under the title, "Imperialist War and Militarism" - "Proletarian Militarism and the Struggle for Power" - "The United States has become completely Europeanized, even to the extent of adopting universal military training; that is, conscription, in time of peace. Marxists oppose militarism as carried out by and for capitalism. They vote against the military budget, against conscription, against any and all measures to strengthen the capitalist state and its powers of suppression through the capitalist type of army. But with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky they recognize the inevitability of war so long as imperialism continues in power. Furthermore, Marxism sees the great contradiction in the very army used by the capitalist state. The army is commanded by an officer caste which reflects in concentrated form the bourgeoisie. But the officer caste leads an army which reflects all the contradictions of the capitalist nation. The rank and file have to be recruited from among the workers and farmers and the lower middle class; that is, from the oppressed strata of the

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population. In ancient warfare the battles were carried on by professional armies and the rest of the people were hardly affected directly by the war. Today the war has become a 'totalitarian' affair in which everybody is involved and in which the large armies are faithful reflections of society." Would that represent the views of the Party? A: The views of the Party on this question have been stated here on the stand already, but I should try, I suppose, to answer that question, that we believe in democracy, the real sort of democracy. We want to extend democracy and democratic rights to the majority of the people. We believe it should extend to the army, and to provide also for the establishment of workers' training camps financed by the government. If we were in Congress, we would certainly present bills for that purpose.

Q What I am coming to now is the "Proletarian Military Policy" on page 50. If any part of it is not correct, stop me when you think there should be an interruption. "Marxists recognize that in this period of universal militarism, all the great problems of society will be solved through the use of arms. The working class cannot win power by pursuing a policy of pacifism. Revolution is the highest point of the class struggle and revolution requires that the workers overthrow the capitalist state and destroy all its institutions, in particular the army. Precisely because the army - "

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A: If you will permit me, I cannot ascribe to that precise formula. I think it could be described a little better perhaps, but in general, what is meant there is that we want to change the whole system - that is correct. We want to change the system and extend democracy. We believe the self-evident truth, that militarism is rampant in the world, and unless there is a way found to break through this misery, that nothing but misery will result.

Q And that all the great problems of society will be solved through the use of arms? A: I think that is reasonable to suppose that that would be necessary, in view of what happened in Germany.

Q Well, what have you to say about this: "Precisely because the army is a reflection of bourgeois society it is vulnerable and susceptible to the same processes of disintegration that take place everywhere in society during a revolutionary period." A: Yes, I think that the army, being built up out of the masses, if the ideas of the people change under this terrible suffering, the ideas of the Army will change also.

Q "The exploited workers have no love for their bosses, in or out of uniform. Just as workers enter the factories because they must do so to earn a living, so they enter the army becuase they are compelled to do so. But the Marxists, accepting the reality of military training, try to utilize this for

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"socialist purposes. The workers must be taught to follow their own class interests, in the army as in the factory. At every stage the revolutionary party strives to direct the class so that at the proper time the class is ready to take the road to power. Thus at the beginning of the war, Marxists call for military training not under the capitalist officer caste but under the control of their trade unions. Let the government appropriate funds so that the workers can be trained as officers. Workers will be more careful of the lives of their brothers entrusted to them. But the whole object of the prdetarian military policy is to mobilize and militarize the youth, the proletarian ones, so as to further the interests of the revolution. Worker-soldiers must learn to defend proletarian democracy. Their training must be used to prevent the breaking up of working class meetings, of trade union meetings; to defend the working class press, etc. The unions must learn that the only way to defend their democracy from fascist attack -- and sooner or later in the war such attacks become likely -- is by setting up workers' union guards. The various unions must come to agreements to help each other, to defend each other's meetings by the joint use of their trained guards. Ultimately this means the setting up of a Proletarian Front. From this there is but a step to the idea of a workers' militia, the nucleus of the future

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"Red Army which defends proletqrian power against counter-revolution."

A: I think that what we are talking about there is the protection of the workers' rights and workers' organizations from fascist attacks.

THE COURT: The jury will keep in mind the admonition heretofore given them. We will recess until two o'clock.

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Monday, November 24, 1941.

(AFTERNOON SESSION)

(Hearing resumed pursuant to recess at 2:00 P.M.)

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THE COURT: Proceed, gentlemen.

VINCENT RAYMOND DUNNE

resumed the stand, having been previously duly sworn, and testified further as follows:

CROSS EXAMINATION (Continued)

By Mr. Anderson:

Q At the intermission I was asking you about "What is Trotskyism". In Government's Exhibit 36, just a couple more quotations. I am calling your attention now to Paragraph No. 8, "Class, Party and Leadership" on Page 51.

(Reading) "The organ of the working class that is absolutely indispensable as a preliminary condition for successful revolution, is the Marxist party. It is the historic function of this party to pursue a course of strategy which shall unite the class and rally to its aid all the other oppressed elements in society in the revolutionary period. The party is thus the brain or the superstructure of the class. The superstructure of the party is in turn its leadership. For a successful revolution, a tremendous responsibility falls on the leadership which must direct the work of the party cadres correctly, above all with a correct program. The program and the activities of the party must mobil-

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ize the working class for struggle against the capitalists and must guide it along the road to power."

Is that a correct statement?

A Well, I think it can be said to be generally correct. It is certainly much too condensend and perhaps permits of wrong interpretation, but for the purpose of discussion, I would say that it outlines it.

Q Then concluding on Page 52, under the heading, "The Crisis of Leadership," I will ask you in regard to this statement:

(Reading) "With the utmost assurance it can be said, with Trotsky, that the working class will be led to the final victory only through the gateway of the Fourth International. That victory will come by following the Marxist theory of permanent revolution so brilliantly elaborated by one of the greatest revolutionists of all time. Every worker must help to build that International. The capitalist system is rotten-ripe for the change to socialism. The longer it continues to exist, the greater the misery into which humanity will be plunged. If the working class revolution had taken hold in at least one of the advanced European countries, the second world war, with its sacrifice of life and civilization, would never have evenutated."

A Well, I think that we can agree that we believe that if socialism had come to Europe, rather than fascism, that intervened, that the lives of the masses of the people of the world would not be in the jeopardy they are in now. That is the mean-

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3 ing of that.

(Government's Exhibit 249 marked for identification by the Reporter.)

Q I show you a printed slip attached to the Socialist Appeal which has been marked for identification Government's Exhibit 249. Are you the Vincent Dunne referred to therein?

(Handing document to the witness.)

A Yes.

MR. ANDERSON: We offer in evidence Government's Exhibit 249.

(Document handed to Mr. Goldman)

MR. MYER: What is the date of that?

MR. ANDERSON: The paper was August 24, 1940.

MR. GOLDMAN: No objection.

THE COURT: It may be received.

(Instrument previously marked by the Reporter as Government's Exhibit No. 249 was received in evidence.)

MR. ANDERSON: The statement is short -- I will read it.

(Reading) "Leon Trotsky Memorial Meeting. Through this war-torn world, wherever possible the Fourth International sponsors memorial meetings this week. The Twin City Meeting will be held at 919 Marquette, Minneapolis, on Thursday, August 29, at eight p. m. Vincent Dunne, friend and disciple of Trotsky will speak on "Why Stalin had Trotsky Murdered." The meeting is free and open to the public. Dr. Grace Carlson will act as Chairman."

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Q (By Mr. Anderson) Mr. Dunne, whenever you spoke in connection with the policy or program of the party at party meetings, you tried to correctly state the aims and purposes of the policy of the party, didn't you? A Yes, I am sure --

Q That is, at no time that you now can recall did you make any statement that the policy was this or that, different from what it really is? A Oh, I made mistakes many, many times, Mr. Anderson.

Q Well, I am not asking about mistakes -- but you did not state the policy different from what you understood it to be?

A Oh, that is a different matter. I tried to make my statements conform, yes.

Q In other words, what I am trying to get at in more or less of a blunt manner is that you did not seek in your discussions about the party to misstate or misrepresent its aims or purposes?

A No; no, I did not try to misstate its purposes.

Q And that is true, is it not, in so far as you may have talked at party headquarters, at the forums, to small groups among union leaders, or individuals as well? A If I were discussing the party's program, I am sure that would be --

Q Yes. And it was your purpose and aim to promote the building of the party and to assist in every way you could to that end?

A Yes, in every way that I could, that is true.

Q You mentioned Friday about the Minneapolis strike of 1934, and I believe you said there were really two strikes, one in July

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and another one, as I recall it, in May?

A If I may correct you, I think I spoke about three strikes in 1934.

Q Three? A I believe I spoke about three.

Q Three. You mean three of the so-called General Drivers' strikes?

A Well, there were no strikes that were called general strikes. They were strikes of the General Drivers' Union -- that is, the union was called the General Drivers' Union.

Q There was one in May, around the latter part of May of that year, was there not? A I believe in the early part of May, Mr. Anderson.

Q And before that strike was had, there was a meeting of the persons interested in the union? A Yes, many meetings; many meetings.

Q Do you recall a meeting of the union workers on the evening of May 21, 1934? A No, I am not sure about the date. There were many meetings around that time and sometimes two or three a day, Mr. Anderson. I don't know to which meeting you refer now.

Q I believe it is in evidence that at one of these strikes a man by the name of Lyman or Wyman lost his life. Do you remember that time? A Yes; yes, I recall that.

Q And that this was the evening before that occurrence -- do you remember the time now? A No, I can't say that I remember that meeting precisely. I may, if you recite some incident or

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or something. I can't recall now what particular meeting you are referring to. As I say, there were meetings every day there, Mr. Anderson, sometimes two or three.

Q Yes, I presume meetings were held quite frequently. And were some of those meetings held in a garage?

A The union was conducting the affairs of the union and the strike in May, 1934, from its headquarters at 1900 Chicago -- yes, that was the strike and the union headquarters there.

Q Well, I don't know whether you answered my question or not.

A Well, I tried to.

Q I mean, were some of these meetings held in a garage?

A Yes.

Q I see. And these other unions here, other AFL unions, met with the General Drivers' Union, I take it, at some of these meetings?

A No; no, not that I recall.

Q Well, do you recall on the evening of May 21, 1934, a business man for the Iron Workers Union was present when you were on the platform and the strike was talked about? A I remember several workers of the so-called Iron Workers' Union participating. I don't recall the incident you speak of, however.

Q Well, I am trying to refresh your recollection, as much as possible. And that at that time the Iron Workers were told to go out with iron pipes in the morning and that the strikes would not stop running until every cop was laid low?

A No, I think that is not right. At least if you are attribut-

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ing that statement to me, I certainly never made that statement.

Q To you, or while you were on the platform, made by the business agent of the Iron Workers' Union? A No, I don't recall such a statement, Mr. Anderson.

Q Do you know Stanley Hubbard, manager of the KSTP Radio Station in St. Paul? A Stanley Hubbard?

Q Yes. A No, I don't believe I do.

Q And he was present at that meeting, and the next day he was at the scene of the strike in a loud speaker radio truck to broadcast on the strike situation. Did you talk to a man on the 22nd of May who was operating a loud speaker sound truck there?

MR. GOLDMAN: Just a minute. I object, your Honor, to the cross examination with reference to the conduct of the strike in '34. It is absolutely immaterial. It was gone into in so far as it was material to the issues, but the details of the strike are absolutely immaterial, your Honor, and I object to that.

MR. ANDERSON: Well, I am not --

THE COURT: What is the materiality of this?

(The following discussion was had at the bench between court and counsel, out of the hearing of the jury:)

MR. ANDERSON: The claim at that time was that Dunne came to the truck operated by Stanley Hubbard and told him that he could not broadcast on the strike operations; that Hubbard re-

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reminded him that it was a violation of Federal law to interfere with such a broadcast; that the witness then stated, "I don't give a damn. This is a civil war and we are running this show."

It is in connection with his testimony already in that he was a leader in that strike and the attitude of the witness in connection with the use of force.

THE COURT: This was back in 1934?

MR. ANDERSON: That is right.

THE COURT: Long before the Socialist Workers' Party was formed or their Declaration of Principles came into being, was it not?

MR. ANDERSON: How is that?

THE COURT: I say, it was long before --

MR. ANDERSON: Oh, yes.

THE COURT: (Continuing) -- their Declaration of Principles came into being?

MR. ANDERSON: But the testimony is that he was in '34 a member of the Communist League and Workers' Party and that the Workers' Party advocated the same substantial program.

MR. GOLDMAN: If we are going to go into all these collateral issues there will never be any end to the trial and this is absolutely immaterial.

MR. ANDERSON: The witness testified on the subject; otherwise I would not think it was proper cross examination.

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MR. GOLDMAN: But only to the extent as to what we meant by control of the union and all that.

THE COURT: Do you know where the place was in his direct where --

MR. GOLDMAN: I did not ask him about the conduct of the strike, your Honor. He just testified that there was a strike, there were negotiations and there was a settlement.

THE COURT: I will sustain the objection. I think that is too remote in point of time and I am not sure of its appropriate relevancy here. There is a limit in point of time under the rules, as I understand it, beyond which the prosecution may not go with reference to either showing association or tendency or intent, and it seems to me that seven years before the date of the return of the indictment is too remote in point of time.

(Whereupon, the proceedings were resumed in open court, as follows:

Q (By Mr. Anderson) Mr. Dunne, you testified Friday, as I recall it, in connection with the use of an automobile that you used in making a trip to Mexico City, and I am reading now from the transcript of the record as to your answer:

"Q Do you remember the statement that was introduced that you gave to some lawyer or some representative of the insurance company in San Antonio, I believe?"

"A Yes.

"Q Will you tell the court and jury the circumstances

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under which you made the statement, and if you know by whom the car was actually owned that took you and the others down to Mexico?

"A The statement that I made to the attorney for the insurance company who carried the insurance on the union cars, or the cars that were owned by an organizer, -- the union also carried the insurance on the cars, whether or not the union owned them or the organizers owned them. That varied from time to time. The statement that I made to him was that the union owned the car and was responsible for the insurance. He understood that, too, after inquiring. Now, since that time I have learned that there is a possibility that the union did not own the car at that time. I don't know now positively. When I made the statement, it was my opinion that the union did own the car. I am not sure of that now."

Isn't it a fact, Mr. Dunne, that the records in the office of the Secretary of State of Minnesota show the title to be in the name of the Local Drivers' Union No. 544?

A I don't know, Mr. Anderson. I did not check that up.

Q If that is the case, you would not dispute but what those records are correct? A No, no, I would not.

Q You have been familiar with the Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Socialist Workers' Party ever since the organization meeting early in 1938? A Yes, I should say so.

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Q And with respect to the aim of the party -- reading now on Page 19 of Exhibit 1, I will ask you if this statement represents the party's views on elections:

(Reading) While relying primarily on mass actions, propaganda and agitation as the means for furthering its revolutionary aim, the Party will also participate in electoral campaigns, though at all times contending against the fatal illusion that the masses can accomplish their emancipation through the ballot box. Election Campaigns will serve primarily as a means for revolutionary propaganda."

Is that a correct statement?

A Yes, I think in connection with the explanation that I had given, that is a correct statement.

MR. ANDERSON: That is all.

REDIRECT EXAMINATION

By Mr. Goldman:

Q Mr. Dunne, what if anything did you have to do with the writing of this bulletin, "What is Trotskyism"? A Nothing whatever.

Q Did you know when it was written? A No, I did not.

Q When did you first find out that such a bulletin was written?

A There was a bundle of them sent to the Socialist Workers' Party headquarters in Minneapolis. I saw them a short time ago, but I had never read it, did not know anything about its publication until that time.

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Q Will you explain the reasons why the Socialist Workers' Party supports the organization of a labor party or a farmer-labor party? A We have as our object the bringing into the mass movement of the workers and farmers the overwhelming majority of the people. We want them to gain political experience in their own organizations, to rely upon their own political parties as opposed to and separate from the older parties of the capitalist class. We support that idea because we believe that it is a good thing for them to test and experience the methods that have to be used to find their way toward socialism. Every labor party grouping that comes together, and especially if it extends towards a national labor party or the farmers and laborers party, we think it is a step forward in that process and we support it honestly because of that. We try not to counsel our -- in any way our critical attitude towards what we think is a limited program. We think that the program for socialism, for the achievement of socialism, is the program of our party, but we do participate in such parties as labor parties for the reasons I have mentioned.

Q What attitude does the party have with reference to testing out through a labor party and exhausting the possibilities of the democratic process?

MR. ANDERSON: What is that last question?

(The last question was read by the reporter.)

THE WITNESS: We believe it is absolutely necessary.

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Yes, we believe that that is a good objective and we think that every possibility for the use of the democratic process should be used and we want to help the working class to educate themselves in this way. We want to participate with them. That is our object. We don't think that the workers and the farmers and the exploited people can gain the experience any other way. We are for that.

Q (By Mr. Goldman) Are you sufficiently acquainted with the theory of permanent revolution to give the court and jury an idea of what it means?

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: I object to that on the ground that it is not responsive to the cross examination, and if material at all should have been introduced on direct.

MR. GOLDMAN: I disagree with Mr. Schweinhaut. The permanent revolution was first brought out on cross examination.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Possibly it was.

THE COURT: He may answer.

THE WITNESS: The idea of permanent revolution as advanced by the Marxian teachers, elaborated more clearly by Leon Trotsky, is that through the progress of mankind as a whole, and in individual countries, towards the building of socialism, that a constant process of change goes on. That is, of extending the benefits of socialism and the building of socialism, and that in extending that there are tendencies in the minorities that have been displaced to resist, and that the

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progress of this goes on in various ways from time to time.

Q Would you say then that the permanent revolution is a process of complete transformation gained from one country and extending through the world, and within the country itself towards socialism? A Yes, I think that is correct.

Q How many members of the union lost their lives in the '34 strike?

MR. ANDERSON: I object to that as irrelevent and immaterial, and not proper redirect.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. GOLDMAN: That is all.

MR. ANDERSON: That is all.

(Witness excused.)

MR. GOLDMAN: Mr. Earl Opstad.

EARL OPSTAD

was called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, and having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION.

By Mr. Goldman:

Q Will you give your name to the reporter, please?

A Earl Opstad.

Q Where do you live, Mr. Opstad? A 2020 South 3rd Street.

Q Minneapolis? A Minneapolis.

Q How long have you been in Minneapolis? A All my life.

Q What are you doing now? A I am a student at the University of Minnesota.